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## Great Britain.

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 11—12, 1881.

### THE EGYPTIAN CRISIS.

It is so long since the external tranquillity of Egyptian affairs has been broken, that many of the English public had almost, we imagine, begun to regard the existing régime in Egypt as invested with all the stability of a long-settled Western Government. How erroneous this notion was we have more than once taken occasion to remind our readers, and the true condition of matters in that country has now been still more forcibly brought home to them by events. The real insecurity of the tenure whereby the essentially artificial system of government which England and France have imposed upon Egypt has hitherto maintained itself is strikingly illustrated by the incident of Friday last. The demonstration is described in one of the reports as wholly "unexpected," but unless this merely means that there was no immediate expectation of it at the particular moment when it occurred, the statement is in direct contradiction of sufficiently well-known facts. For, as a matter of fact, the probable outbreak of a military *coup d'état* at Cairo has been a common topic of speculation in all quarters but those in which, as we have said, the maintenance of order in Egypt and the persistently smooth working of the delicate machinery of its Government have been incuriously assumed. Elsewhere it has long been an open secret that some such *coup* was in preparation, and its probability has, in fact, been recognised by expressed diplomatic action. Mr. Male's mission to Constantinople was directed, it is believed, to the express object of bringing this probability to the notice of the Ottoman Government; and the telegrams of the last few days had brought word of an interchange of views between Lord Dufferin and the Porte on the question of Turkish military intervention for the purpose of suppressing any disorders of the kind. The *émule* of last Friday was so far from being unexpected in this sense that the proper mode of dealing with it was actually under consideration at the moment when it broke out. Sudden, however, in its actual occurrence it undoubtedly was; and the suddenness with which the blow has been struck and its object attained, adds greatly to the difficulties of the situation. It would be vain, of course, to deny that this is not only difficult, so far as the English Government is concerned. Nothing would be gained by affecting to ignore the suspicion which the whole affair, and the intrigues supposed to have preceded it, so strongly suggest. That suspicion may be unfounded, but it undoubtedly exists; and it will depend upon the action taken by the French Government whether it is dissipated or confirmed. At present, however, we are compelled to take it provisionally into account, and at all events to suspend judgment for a time as to the possibility that the military *coup d'état* at Cairo may be viewed, if not with actual approval, at any rate without positive disfavour by France. This point, however, should be soon ascertained. An interchange of communications between the two partners in the Protectorate can hardly fail to bring the truth to light; although, so far as this particular incident is concerned, the knowledge will doubtless reach us too late to be turned to any practical use. From all accounts, it would appear that the Khedive's compromise with his malcontent officers was effected through the instrumentality of our representatives; and the English Government may, therefore, consider themselves precluded from making any demand, either alone or in concert with France, for the restoration of the dismissed Ministers. Nor possibly might it be deemed wise to do so, even if it were permissible. It may be thought best to assent to the substitution of Cherif for Riaz Pacha, and thus far to apply the principle *fleri non debet, flectere valet* to the irregular action of the Khedive's soldiery. But it is quite impossible to leave the Egyptian régime exposed to the risk of a similar attack in the future. The men who demand a change of Ministers to-day may demand a change of political system to-morrow; they may insist on the abolition of the financial control, and the dismissal of the European administrators; or they may clamour for the abrogation of the capitulations, and seek to sweep away the judicial tribunals which that international convention established. The mere possibility of such action is sufficient to show that the situation now created in Egypt is one which can on no account be tolerated. It is impossible for the Western Powers, and most emphatically for England, to permit the vast interests in the peace, order, and solvency of Egypt to remain at the mercy of a handful of military adventurers, whether with or without the backing, open or secret, of any other European State. None the less, however, must be admitted that of all the methods of extricating Egypt from this position, there is none which is not surrounded by very grave objections. In order that future military demonstrations of this kind should be anticipated, or, on their occurrence, repressed, it would be necessary to occupy the country with a force strong enough either to overawe the Egyptian army, or to maintain order if, as would be far preferable, that army were to be largely reduced from its present unnecessary strength. And it is certainly easy matter to say whence this occupying force is to come. Neither of the two partners in the Dual Protectorate will

readily consent to the occupation of Egypt by the troops of the other; and what neither France nor England would be permitted to do separately they have neither of them much inclination to attempt in common. Of ourselves, at any rate, it may be said that the prospect of a joint occupation of Egypt by the armies of the two Powers would be regarded in England with great disfavour upon more grounds than one. Nor does the suggestion that Turkey should despatch a contingent of her troops to maintain order in the Khedive's dominions appear much more promising. It would be pretty sure to encounter the strongest resistance from France, and reasons could be adduced by her for her opposition which the present English Government would find it exceedingly difficult to combat. Yet, unless, as has been said, we are to give up Egypt to military domination, it would appear inevitable that one of these three courses should be adopted. To call upon the Khedive to disband or to reduce the army which has just shown itself to be his master, without proffering him any material assistance in the work, would be manifestly absurd; yet to leave the army in full possession of the powers which they have thus exercised would virtually amount to acquiescence in their claim to play, whenever it suits them, the part of a Protectorian Guard under the late Roman Empire, and to elevate their officers to the political importance of a popular Spanish General under Isabella II. The problem before the English Cabinet is undoubtedly a critical one; and though there may of course be still reason to hope that the French Government will simplify it by their co-operation, it is by no means possible to feel much confidence on that score. We have often pointed out the essentially temporary and provisional character of the dual Protectorate, and remarked upon the causes and chances which might at any moment tend to dissolve the unstable cohesive union between the two Powers. It may be that the hour of that dissolution is already approaching.—*Observer.*

The *Times* says:—The Egyptian army must be disbanded. Its continued existence is not compatible with the maintenance of civil order. But will the army and its leaders be brought to consent to their own extinction? Will the Khedive consent to part with his army, and if so, will he be able to get rid of it? We must be prepared on all points. We may wait awhile, but with a policy in view which, if need be, will save Egypt from herself, and from the disorder with which she is more than threatened. Force, it is not unlikely, will have to be met by force. The question will be where the contracting force is to be obtained. To the military occupation of Egypt by England and France jointly, or by either country separately, the objections are so grave as to be insuperable. Neither country would consent to abdicate in favour of the other. The thing, if it were done at all, would have to be done by them both together. But it has been no easy work hitherto for the two countries to act together in Egypt. Their joint armed intervention would be more difficult still. It is most improbable that our Government would attempt a movement so likely to lead to mischief and to misunderstandings worse by far than the evil it was intended to combat. There remains, then, but one course open. If intervention there must be, Turkey must be invited to deal with the emergency in Egypt. There are objections to this course, but the case is one in which we must make choice between evils and the interposition of Turkey at the request of the two Powers is the least evil of them all. That we should leave Turkey free to move an army into Egypt, and to keep it there during her pleasure, is not to be thought of. What would be asked of Turkey is to furnish the means for quelling—effectually the existing disorder in Egypt. The army is the source of the mischief, and the army, therefore, must be put down. If Turkey were to undertake the work, this is very possible; but no resistance would be offered. The Egyptian army is not large. It consists of some thirteen or fourteen thousand soldiers at most. The whole of these united could do nothing against a detachment of Turkish troops, and it is most unlikely that they would be united. But the Egyptian army, large or small, is a very much larger force than Egypt has any need for. A few locally raised troops would sufficiently guard the southern frontiers of the Khedive's dominions. For the internal order of the country a good police would be enough. An army on the present footing serves only as a needless expense and a temptation to further expense in needless wars. When it becomes a positively mischievous cause against its complete, if, indeed, it were not complete before.

### RETIREMENT OF MR. SULLIVAN, M.P.

Everyone will hear with regret of Mr. A. M. Sullivan's determination to resign his seat in Parliament; and the regret will naturally be much the greater because ill health has compelled the resolve.—It is not an exaggeration to say that Mr. Sullivan had won the respect of all parties in the House of Commons. He always firmly held by his own party, in so far as it represented the principles he had pledged himself to support, but he never took part in or countenanced extravagances, and he never spoke bitter words, or ascribed ignominious motives to his political opponents. He was undoubtedly one of the most eloquent and ready debaters in the House of Commons, and more nearly approached perhaps to the rank of an orator than any other of his colleagues. His vacancy in March which his resignation causes will in all probability give Mr. Parnell an opportunity of sending in a man more thoroughly in sympathy with his policy than Mr. Sullivan was. There will be no vacancy in the appointments already made, that of Mr. John George MacCarthy is likely to increase the confidence of Southern tenant farmers in the working of the Act. Mr. MacCarthy was a member of the House of Commons for several years, and was much respected for his moderation and his great practical ability. He identified his name especially with a scheme of legislation to promote the reclamation of waste land, the substance of which is now embodied in the Land Law Act.—*Daily News.*

### THE AFGHAN CLAIMANTS.

Telegraphing on Sunday the Calcutta correspondent of the *Times* says:—The rival claimants to the Afghan throne must now be very near one another, as the Amier left Kabul on the 6th inst., and arrived at Robat on the 8th inst.; but no

news of any engagement has yet reached India. Ayob has released Shamsuddin and sent him to the Amier, and a report, not yet confirmed, has been received at Simla that he made him the bearer of a message, in which, after alluding to his own insignificance and to Abdurrahman's greatness, and undertaking not to fight unless attacked, he went on to propose the following division of the country:—Kabul to be given to Yakob, Candahar to another child, Kuram to a third, Turkestan to the Amier, and Ayob himself to retain Herat. This division effected, all the Amier's army, driving the English out of Chama and Pishin. The report does not go on to say what the Amier's reply was. Abdurrahman appears to be successful in inducing the Ghilzais to join him, and in stirring them up against the Duranis, who are taking Ayob's part. No exact information is given as to the strength of the two armies. Ayob has probably not less than 5,000 regular troops. The Candahar people are stated to be much alarmed, expecting the fall of their city. This week may possibly show whether their fears are well-founded.

### THE MILITARY DEMONSTRATION IN EGYPT.

The *Times* has received the following despatches from its Cairo correspondent, with reference to the recent revolutionary movement on the part of the troops:—

Cairo, Sept. 11.  
The immediate cause of the riot was the decision of Riaz Pacha to transfer to Alexandria the 10th Regiment, of which Achmet El Ouabi is the Colonel. The Khedive received the news with great displeasure, and for Riaz Pacha. Meanwhile Daoud Pacha received a document signed by Ourabi, stating that unless the Government assented to their demands for the dismissal of the Ministry, a Constitution, and an increase of troops they would march to the Abidin Palace, and remain there till their demands were satisfied. They added that Riaz Pacha had sold Egypt to England. Daoud Pacha proceeded to the palace, and the Khedive sent for Mr. Colvin and asked his advice. It wanted one hour to the time fixed by the troops for the demonstration. Mr. Colvin advised the Khedive to take the initiative, to summon personally the faithful regiments and the Cairo police, to assemble them round the palace to await the rioters, and personally to proceed to the Abidin Palace, and, if necessary, approving, the Khedive and Mr. Colvin proceeded to the Abidin Palace, and to the citadel, where the troops enthusiastically protested their loyalty. Mr. Colvin then wished to return and await the rioters, but the Khedive urged visiting another regiment at the distant palace of the Abbassid. On arrival there they found that the regiment, with artillery, had already marched for the Abidin Palace. On driving there they found the palace surrounded by about 4,000 troops, with 18 cannons, and the Khedive, who was in the palace by a side door, but Mr. Colvin restrained him and begged him to show himself at the front and arrest Ourabi, who advanced towards him on horseback with his sabre drawn and surrounded by officers.

The Khedive ordered him to dismount, while a sergeant told him to sheath his sword. He did both, but Tewfik hesitated to adopt Mr. Colvin's advice, and instead of asking for his sword, inquired his business. The Khedive then asked him to wait, and he so long as you give us both you are our master; if not, we have your successor ready. Mr. Colvin then withdrew with the Khedive and undertook negotiations with the officers. He explained the folly and danger of their demands, and urged the withdrawal of the troops; for if the Khedive were forced to accept their terms he would not be allowed to carry them out. The officers, however, remained obstinate. About 4.30 p.m. Mr. Cookson returned with the Austrian Consul and the French Consul, who declined both names. The officers named Sherif, the Khedive said he would refuse office, but under pressure consented to summon him. The colonels insisted that the declaration should be in writing. The Khedive then signed a decree, and the Ministry under compulsion, leaving the other two points for reference to Constantinople. As regards the new Ministry, the officers attempted to enforce conditions, and then left it to the Khedive's free choice; but he refused to sign, and the officers declined both names. The officers named Sherif, the Khedive said he would refuse office, but under pressure consented to summon him. The colonels insisted that the declaration should be in writing. The Khedive then signed a decree, and the Ministry under compulsion, leaving the other two points for reference to Constantinople. As regards the new Ministry, the officers attempted to enforce conditions, and then left it to the Khedive's free choice; but he refused to sign, and the officers declined both names. The officers named Sherif, the Khedive said he would refuse office, but under pressure consented to summon him. The colonels insisted that the declaration should be in writing. 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